

A

10

Sermon preached
at *Westminster* before the
King and Queenes Ma-
iesties, at their Coronations on
Saint *James* his day, being the
xxv. of Iuly. 1603.

By the Reuerend Father in God, the
Lord Bishop of Winchester.



Printed at London by T.E. for Clement
Knight, dwelling in Pauls churchyard
at the signe of the holy
Lambe. 1604.

Sermon preached
 at Westminster before the
 King and Queenes Ma-
 jesties at their Coronation on
 the 24th of June 1603.
 By Thomas Hooker.

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To the Christian Reader.



*Christian Reader, I present
vnto thee heere, a Sermon
preached by the right reue-
rend and learned Father the
Lord Bishop of Winchester, at the late
Coronation of the Kings most excellent
Maiestie: which hauing (with much adoe)
obtained of a good friend of mine about
his Lordship, I hope it shall no whit offend
his Lordship, if by this meanes hee doe
more seruice to the Church, then by the
uttering of it he could doe in one (though
so honorable) assembly. I dare not pre-
sume to censure it. The Sermon it selfe,
the Royall presence before which it was
uttered, and the learning and grauitie
of the Preacher, grace it much more, thā
whatsoever I could studie to say in com-
mēdation of it. Read it therfore dilligent-
ly, & learn by it to obey Gods ordinance
willingly; and so I commit thee to God.*



To the Christian Reader.

H. B. Reader, I present
 unto thee here a sermon
 preached by the right ven-
 erend and learned Father the
 Lord Bishop of Winchester in the late
 Convocation of the King most excellent
 Majesty: which having (with much ado)
 obtained of a good friend of mine about
 his Lordship, I hope it shall now be offered
 his Lordship, if by this means hee doe
 more service to the Church, then by the
 offering of it he should do in one (though
 so honorable) Office. I dare not pre-
 sume to commend it. I am certain it selfe
 the Royal presence before which it was
 offered, and the learning and gravity
 of the Preacher, great witness more than
 what former I could thinke to say in com-
 mendation of it. But if I be for all con-
 sideration by it to obey Gods command-
 ments, and so I commit this to God.



Rom. 13. ver. 1.

*The powers that are, are ordained of
God.*



O true, without exception it is, which the Apostle saith in the next words before, *There is no power but of God,* that man at his first Creation, and in his perfection could haue no power ouer Beasts, Birds, and Fishes; till GOD with his owne voyce made him ruler ouer his Creatures, and put all things in subiection vnder his secte. If none could dispose of Gods works besides the workeman, nor vse the Creatures voyde of reason without the Creators leaue; howe much lesse might any man haue dominion ouer the Seruants and Sonnes of God, created after his owne Image, and sanctified with the grace of his spirit, had not God

A Sermon preached

ordained the power of men over men, & with manifest words authorized Rulers to take and keepe their places. Private and inferior powers, as the husband over his wife, the father over his children, the master over his Servants, were to be allowed and ratified by God, from whom is all power, before they could be lawfull: Publike then and Superiour powers, as they containe and commaund all those governments, & far exceed them, so must they have a larger and stronger warrant in the word of God, than any other Regiment hath. Which, that wee may the better perceive, I thinke it fit for this present time, and place, to observe, not onely, how the Princes function in generall is established by God, but more specially, how the branches thereof, namely, their power, their honour, and their service are ordained and confirmed of god. To expresse them more distinctly. Their authoritie as derived from God, resembling his image; Their dignitie is allowed of God, to pertake with his homage. Their dutie is enjoyned the by god, to preserve his heritage: the first they have received from God, the second they must receive

at the Coronation. A

ceue from men; the third they must yeeld
to both. And first of resembling Gods I-
mage: the likenes that Princes haue with
the kingdome of God and of Christ, con-
sisteth in the societie of the names, and
signes, which they haue common with
Christ; in the *Suffieencie* of the spirit,
wherwith God indueth them; in the *Sanc-*
ritie of their persons, which may not bee
violated in the *Soueraignie* of their pow-
er, which must not be resisted.

The Societie of their names is euident. Psal. 82:

*I haue sayd, ye are Gods, and all the Sonnes
of the most High:* And of this very scrip-

ture our Sauour saith, *it cannot be dissol-*

ued; that is, it can neither be false, nor

frustrate, since it is the word of God. Sted-

faster than heauen and earth is the word

of God. *Heauen and earth shall passe away,*

but my words, saith our Sauour, shall not

passe away. If vanitie and falsity in our

speach argue the weakenesse and wicked-

nesse of our harts; how impossible is it

the word of god should want either truth

or force? Wee are seuerelie prohibited to

take Gods name in vaine, which is most

holie and mightie. And shall wee thinke,

A.iiij.

that

A Sermon preached :

that God himselfe will giue his name to
Numb. 23 Princes in vaine? *Is God as man, that bee
should lie?* Hath he spoken it, and will he
not performe it? *Or shall his word returne
to him empty, & without effect?* God for-
bid, wee should so much dishonour him,
or deceiue our selues. Since then Princes
cannot be Gods by nature, being framed
of the same mettall, & in the same mould,
that others are; It followeth directly, they
are Gods by Office; Ruling, Iudging, &
Punishing in Gods steed, and so deseruing
Gods name heere on earth. As it was said
Exod 7 to Moses, *behold, I haue made thee Phara-
ohs God,* that is, his people, his person, his
land, his life, and all hee hath, shall be in
thy power, and depend on thy word.

As Christ giueth Princes his name,
by calling them Gods, and, the Sonnes of
the most High: So he taketh their names
and signes to shew the vnitie and soue-
raignie of his kingdom, & to seuer it from
all other kinds of gouernment: for Christ
is neuer called in scripture, a Consul, a Se-
nator or a Tribune of the people, but, *the
name on his garment, and on his thigh,* as
Reuel. 19. Saint Iohn saith, *is King of Kings,* and
Lord

at the Coronation.

Lord of Lords, that is, a most mightie King and Lord. Inſomuch that when Chriſt is deſcribed in the ſcriptures, as a King, all the ornaments & enſignes of a kingdome are namely recited and perſonally referred to him, though in him they bee ſpirituall and eternall, which to men muſt bee materiall & temporall. *Thy throne, O God,* Pal. 45 *endureth for ever,* ſaith the Scripture of Chriſt, as the Apoſtle expoundeth it, *The Scepter of thy kingdome is a ſcepter of righteouſneſſe.* Wherefore, God euen thy God, hath annoynted thee with the Oyle of Gladneſſe aboue thy partners. On his head (ſaith Reuel. 19 Saint Iohn) are manie Crownes, and out of his mouth (as working his wil by his word) goeth a ſharp ſword, wherewith he ſhall ſmite the heathen. To princes then, as partakers with Chriſt in the power, honour & iuſtice of his kingdome heere on earth, are allowed of God a ſword, in ſigne of power, a Crowne, in ſhew of glorie, a Scepter, for a token of Direction, a Throne, for a ſeate of Iuſtice and Iudgement; and Inunction as a pledge of outward Protection, and inward Infuſion of grace. All which ſignes and ornaments of a kingdom ſince Chriſt

A.v. aſſumeth

A Sermon preached

assumeth from princes, and applieth to himselfe, hee confirmeth to bee lawfull in princes, because they are common to them with him, who admitteth or accepteth no vnlawfull or superstitious thing as pertinent to his person.

The spirit also, which princes receiue from God, and wherewith they are guided in doeing their office, sheweth their Resemblance with the sonne of God. Men choose the fittest they can finde to supply their places, because they want meanes to make others meeter then they are. But god who worketh all in all according to the good pleasure of his will, & hath power most abundant to enable all his Agents for any worke he hath in hand; neuer calleth any man to serue him, whom hee doth not furnish with giftes according. Workemen hee would haue none to the making or decking of his Tabernacle, but such as he replenished with the spirit of vnderstanding for that purpose: Prophets he neuer sent any, but with his words in their mouthes, and his truth in their harts, which all their aduersaries could not withstand: gouernors then, whose hearts,

mouthes

at the Coronation.

mouth and *hands*, he vseth to keepe his
 people in peace and pietie? God neuer
 chooseth any but he first endewed them
 with a principall spirit, whiles *Moses* alone
 sustained the burden of the whole people
 in the wilderneſſe, the abundance of Gods
 spirit on *Moses* was ſufficiēt for the whole:
 but when he deſired part of that labour to
 be eaſed, God took off the ſpirit, which was
 vpon *Moses* & diuided thereof to the ſea- Numb. 22.
 penty elders, who aſſiſted *Moses*. As ſoone
 as *Samuel* by Gods commandement had
 anointed *Saul*, god gaue *Saul* another hart, 1 Sam. 10.
 ſaith the ſcripture, and he was changed into
 another man. But whe for diſobedience the
 kingdome was rent from him, the ſpirit of
 the Lord likewiſe departed from him, & fro
 that day forward came vpon *Dauid*, that
 was annoynted to ſucceed *Saul*. It pleaſed
 God well, that *Salomon*, at his firſt com-
 ming to the crown, deſired an vnderſtand- 1 Kings. 3.
 ing hart to iudge the people: and in ſigne
 of liking & granting this requeſt, god gaue
 him alſo that which he asked not, euen ri-
 ches and honor aboue all the Kings of
 the earth. Of al good princes the wiſdome
 of God ſaith, By me Kings rule, and princes
 decree

A Sermon preached

Prou. 21 decree Justice: that is, the Kings heart is in Gods hand, hee turneth it whither hee will.

Prou. 16 A diuine direction is in the kings lippes, his mouth shall not transgresse in iudgement. A

Prou. 20 king sitting in the throne of iustice, chaseth away all euill with his Eyes, which are the shews of his affections. So that not onely the height of their calling is deriued from God, but the strength of Gods spirit ruleth their hearts, guideth their mouthes, & setteth their affections, to execute iudgement, and to banish euill from the earth.

Psal. 105. The inward annoynting, which is the diffusing of heavenly wisdom & courage in the hearts of princes, God testified by externall inunction, when he first appointed a king in Israel: And by that his ordinance taught vs, that their persons once dedicated to his seruice, are not onely protected by his stretched out arme, but are and ought to be Sacred and Secured from the violence & iniurie of all mens hands, mouthes, and hearts. Touch not mine Annoynted, saith God by his prophet. Which though it be true of all whom god vouchsafeth inwardly or outwardly to annoint, yet is it chiefly verified of princes, whom God

at the Coronation.

God annointeth to be chiefest of his people. This David well saw, when hee so often said: *The Lord keep me from laying mine* 1. Sam. 24.
hand on his annointed, for who can lay his & 26,
hand on the Lords annointed, and bee guilt-
lesse? Neither is violence onely prohibited
towards them, but all offence in speach or
thought. *The prince of thy people, Ló Taár,* Exod. 22.
thou shalt not reprob, by word or deed, the
word *Arar* importeth both: and so, *despise* Eccle. 10.
not the king (or make not light of him) *no*
not in thy thought, for the foule of heauen shall
be tray in, that is, God will strangely re-
ueale it, be it neuer so secret. Yea the verie
Robes, which they weare, are sanctified.
When David had priuily cut but the lap
of *Sauls* cloake in the caue, to let him see
that he spared his life, *Dauids hart did af-* 1. Sam. 24.
terward strike him, saith the scripture, for
cutting that peece of the kings garment.
So sacred is euery thing belöging to them,
that no part of their apparell may bee
wrongd or abused. The force of their an-
nointing being perpetuall & generall, we
must not thinke the outward action Iudai-
call or Temporall. Iewish it could not be,
that neither had his beginning from the
Jews, nor was restrained to the Jews. The

A Sermon preached

qualities and duties of a king are propo-
 sed in *De. 17.* but the anointing of a king
 is no wher mentioned in *Moses* law, once
 ly *Samuel* had a precept from god to an-
 noint first *Saul*, then *David*: & so had *E-*
1 King. 19 *lisha* to anoint *Hazael* king ouer *Aram*,
 who was no Jew, and *Iehu* king ouer *Is-*
raël, & God by his prophet called *Cyrus*
Esa 45. king of *Persia* his anointed. Likewise *Sal-*
1 Kings. 1 *omon*, *Iosb*, *Iehoabaz*, and other kings of
2 King. 11 *Judah*, (though it be not expresse) were
 annointed, notwithstanding there was no
2 King 23 expresse commaundement of God for so
 doing, but a continuance of the first insti-
 tution or approbation of anointing kings
 receiued from god. Yea, 200 yeres almost
 before there was any king in *Israel*, or any
 mention of anointing them, *Joshua* the
 son of *Gedion* in his parable to the men of
Judges. 9 *Shechem*, said, the trees went forth to annoyne
 a king ouer them, speaking of the annoint-
 ing of kings, as of a thing requisite to the
 creating of kings, & well knownen to them
 and his hearers, when as yet there was no
 precept, nor example extat therof among
 the *Iewes*. Which they must needs learne
 by the vse of other nations round about
 them.

at the Coronation.

them. Since then Inunction of princes had not his originall from *Moses*, who wrote nothing thereof, but beeing first vsed in other places (as appeares by *Iothams* parable) was afterward receiued and approoued by Gods direction, when he created a king in *Isarel*: and was extended to other kingdoms & countries, namely, to *Hazael* king of *Syria*, and to *Cyrus* king of *persia*, who were strangers to the law & people of the Jews: And the vocation of princes in no part of their power, honor, or seruice is abrogated or altred by the new testament, as the *Leuitical* presthood is, but rather continued and confirmed, which is a manifest truth of sound doctrine: I see no cause why the function of princes still remaining the same, the Inunction of princes should not haue also the same significatio, operation and approbation from God which it had in *David*, *Salomon*, *Ioash*, *Iehoahaz*, & others, & depend vpon as good warrant, as their crownes, thrones, swords and scepters doe, all which are resemblances of Christs kingdome, and approued of God, as signes & assurances of their authority, dignity, and duty from God euen

A Sermon preached

as Inunction is an earnest to them of that inward sufficiencie, and outward securitie, which God bestowes on their persons, when hee aduanceth them to their places.

Rom. 13

The Soueraigntie of their power will soone appeare, as well by the persons subjected, as by the things committed to their charge. *Let every Soule bee subject to the Superior powers,* saith Paul in this place. *Every Soule* yea though thou be an Apostle, an Euangelist, a Prophet, or whosoever thou bee, saith Chrysost. for these things are commanded to all. *He that bringeth an exception, useth but a delusion,* saith Bern. For who can loose wher god hath bound? Neither is this an exhortation to obedience, but a plaine iniunction, *you must,* saith

Ro. 13.5

Paul be subject not onely because of wrath, but also for conscience sake. You must importeth a necessitie, for conscience declareth a dutie to god, the danger of resisting being as great as the commandement of

Rom. 13.2

obeying is strait. *Whosoever resisteth power, resisteth the ordinance of God, & they that resist shall receive to themselves Iudgement.* Dare any man promise vnto himselfe successe and protection in conspira-

cie

at the Coronation.

tie and treason when the spirit of God so plainly threateth ruine and condemnation to all that resist, whosoeuer they bee? They which would not learne by other mens falles, what it is to vndermine princes thrones and crownes, let them feeble by their owne smart, that Gods arme is most mightie, and his mouth most true denouncing iudgement to all resisters.

As all persons must obey princes, so all goodnes must be supported by them, and all euil punished, *Do well*, saith the Apostle, *so shalt thou haue praise of the power: But if thou doe euill, feare: for hee beareth not the sword in vaine: hee is Gods minister to take vengeance on him that doth euill: not this or that euill, but any maner of euill.* Rom. 13
3.4.

The sword is equally authorized against all kinde of euill, that may bee discerned and iudged by man. Wherefore god giueing the king, not as priuate person, but as a publique gouernor, his charge, saith; *The king sitting on the throne of his kingdome, shall write this law in a booke, or cause it to be written) and shall reade therein all the dayes of his life, that he may learn to keep all* Deu. 17,

A Sermon preached

Epist. 50
Id. con.
Cresc. l. 3.
ca. 7, 11.

the words of this law, & these ordinances, for to do the. Kings as kings, saith Austen, serue god in doing that for his service, which none but kings can do, to wit, by making Lawes to command that which is good, and prohibite that which is euill, not in ciuill affaires onely, but in matters also touching diuine religion. Princes then by their office are keepers & supporters of the whole law, and of euery word or thing therein contained; and consequently punishers of all euill committed against any part of Gods law. So that the safegard of godlinesse and honesty pertaineth to their places, as much as the maintenance of peace and tranquility.

To which end, god hath allowed the power ouer the goods, lands, bodies & liues of their subiects : and what priuate men may not touch without theft and murder, that princes may lawfully dispose, as gods ministers, taking vengeance on them that doe euill. The wrath of a king is the messenger of death, saith Salomon, which is not spoken of tyrants oppressing the iust, but of powers reuenging the wicked. Earely saith David, will I destroy all the wicked of the land, that I may cut off all the workers of

rou. 16

sal. 101

at the Coronation.

iniquitie from the citie of the Lord: not making an hasty vow to bath his hands in bloud without mercy, but an holy promise to G. I, to execute his law, without fauouring impietie. The greatnesse of the power which princes haue receiued from God, resembling his Image, leadeth vs to the greatnesse of the Honour they must receiue from men, in pertaking with gods homage. The one is Gods ordinance as well as the other, for God hath not put princes in his place, and giuen them his power, to be despised or disobeyed, but to be honoured and serued as his lieutenants and vicegerents here on earth. And if it be truly said of vs, who haue the word of Christ in our mouths, *he that receiueth you,* Math. 10
receiveth mee, and he that despiseth you, de- Luke. 10
spiseth mee: how much more rightly is it said of them, that sit in gods seate, & beare the sword; he that resisteth or dishonoreth them, resisteth and dishonoreth the ordinance of God, to his owne confusion in this life, where princes are permitted to reuenge the wrongs done to them; and in the next, where god cuerlastingly punisheth the contempt of his ordinance?

B.ij.

What

A Sermon preached

What kinde of honour is due to princes, is shortly deliuered in that commandement, *honor thy Father*. They are fathers by Gods law, that haue or should haue fatherly care ouer vs, whether it be to ayde vs in the things of this life, as maisters and teachers; or to guide vs the true way to heauen, as pastors & ministers; or to keep vs in peace & godlines, as magistrates and Princes : God giuing princes that name, because they should be as vigilant for the good of those that are vnder their charge, as parents are for their children; & receiue the same honor & seruice for their paines, which are due to parents from their naturall children, if not greater. The very heathen Philosophers saw so far, & confessed

Zenop. so much ἀρχὸν ἀγαθὸς εἶναι διαφέρει
Cyripai- πατρὸς ἀγαθῆς. A good prince nothing dis-
deias li.8, fereth from a good Father. And Aristotle,
Ethicorū πατρικὴ γὰρ ἀρχὴ βέλτεται ἢ βασιλεία
li.8.cap. τιναί. A kingdom would be (or should be)
 12. a fatherly gouernment. God by his Prophet
 confirmeth the same, where he saith to his
Esa.49. Church; Kings shall be thy nurcing fathers,
 and Queenes thy nurcing mothers.

The Apostle in this place nameth
 three

at the Coronation.

three things due to Princelie Dignitie,
Subiection, honour, and Tribute: teaching
vs, that princes must be obeyed with con-
science, reuerence and recompence; with
conscience acknowledging they are or-
dained of God, whose will is alwaies the
onely sure ground of a good conscience.
It is therefore sin to despise or refuse their
lawes, commaunding that which is good,
and likewise to resist or reproch their po-
wer, punishing that which is euill euen in
our selues. In the one appeareth gods will
directing our outward actions heere on
earth; in the other, Gods hand reforming
our vices, whiles here we liue, and since in
either we must obey for conscience, in nei-
ther can we resist without euident contempt
of Gods ordinance. Howbeit when prin-
ces cease to command for God, or bend
their swords against god, whose ministers
they are: we must reuerence their power,
but refuse their wills. It is no resistaunce
to obey the greater before the lesser, nei-
ther hath any man cause to be offended,
when God is perferred. Yet must we not
reiekt their yoke with violence, but rather
endure their swords with patience, that

A Sermon preached

God may be iudge betweene prince and people, with whom is no vnrighteousnes, nor respect of persons.

Ro. 13. v. 4

Reuerence due to princes must come from the whole man, and haue the whole man, that is, it must haue the loue of our harts, the prayer of our lips, and the submission of our bodies. *They are Gods ministers for our wealth.* They must therefore be loued euen from the hart. We must loue their places appointed by god to pertake, as well with his honour, as with his power. We must loue their persons giuen vs of God in steede of parents, and doing that for vs, which naturall parents cannot doe. We must loue their paines, procuring vs greater benefits then any we can yeeld to them, and so leaving vs still their debtors, when we haue done our most and best seruice to them.

For which cause our power failing vs to requite them as we ought, we must pray to the God of all power, for the safetie, peace and prosperitie of princes, that our prayers may testifie the zeale of our harts, and desire of our willes, to obtaine from God farre greater recompence for them, then

at the Coronation.

then we can any way render the. Yet may we not slack to do them all the honour we can, as well with humilitie of the outward man, as with fidelitie of the inward. When S. Peter saith, *honour the king*, we must not thence exclude bodily honour, which is sensible to others, and restraîne it to the honour of the minde, which neither we can shew, nor they can see, but by externall signes. The commaundements of God binde the whole man: no part is exempted where submission is required.

And because it is growen a great fashion in needlesse curtesie to bow and touch the ankle, & in necessarie dutie to stand stark and stiffe, let vs see in a word or two, whether the custome of this countrie, in kneeling to their princes, be feruilitie of flatterie, as some reckon it, or a part of their due honor and dignitie. *Ioseph* suffered his brethren to bow downe to the ground before him, as he dreamt & said they should, and yet was *Ioseph* but the next person to king *Pharaoh*, and his vicegerent. This dreame and deed were both of God: when *Jacob* would foreshew his sonne *Judah*, that the scepter shuld not depart from his

Genel. 43

A Sermon preached

Gen. 49. lineage, he said, *Thy fathers sonnes shall bowe downe vnto thee*: and heerein *Jacob* was a prophet, and spake by the spirit of god. *David*, after he was annoynted to succeed
1. Sam. 24 *Saul* in the kingdome, *bowed himselfe with his face to the Earth before Saul*: and when
2. Sam. 9 he was king, he receiued the like homage
2. Sam. 14 from *Mephibosheth* the son of *Jonathan*, from *Ioab* his sisters son, from *Absolon* his
2. Sam. 24 owne sonne, from *Arannah* the Iebusite, of whom he bought the threshing flore: all these *bowing themselves* (vpon seuerall occasions) *with their faces on the ground* before king *David*, & yet was *David* farre from yeelding or accepting more then his due. *Nathan* the prophet, of whom can be no suspition, that he vsed flatterie, or
1. Kings. 1 was ignorant of his dutie, *bowed himselfe* (saith the scripture) to king *David*, *with his face on the ground*, when he asked him, who should sit on his throne after him. God neuer alloweth the outward man to dissent from the inward in any kinde of dutie: the mouth blesseth, where the hart loueth: and the bobie stoopeth, when the minde honoureth.

The third point which belongeth to
 Princely

at the Coronation.

Princely dignitie, is that which the Apostle calleth *Custom* and *Tribute*, I call recompence. The dutie may not bee denied, howsoever the reason thereof may be somewhat varied, *Therefore pay ye also Tribute*, Rom. 13, 6, saith the Apostle. If wee refer this to the former words, you must bee subiect, for therefore pay yee tribute, then is *Tribute* a *signe* or sequel of our *subiection*: For since wee our selues must bee subiect, all that is ours, both goods & lands must needs bee vnder the same condition. More worthie are our bodies then our goods, & our liues then our lands. If the principall be not exempted from Subiection, how should the Accessaries? If we refer it to the words following, for this cause pay we tribute, for they are Gods ministers attending their charge, the reason is very sound & dependeth on the main proportion of Gods Iustice and providence. Parents must be requited, because they cared for vs, when we could not help our selues. Preachers must be maintained because they labour in the word and doctrine; generally God would haue no man attend any office, by which hee should not liue. How euident a right

B.v. then

A Sermon preached

then is it, that princes supplying Gods place, and applying themselves wholly to the preservation of their people, and safeguard of the common-wealth, should haue their paines recompenced with all honor and aboundance, and their affaires both of peace and war supported by the goods and lands of their subiects?

Mat. 22. Our Saviour (when it was asked) whether it were lawful to pay tribute vnto *Cesar*, giueth a farther reason, in saying, *Render vnto Cesar the things that are Cessars*: in effect, restore him his owne. A double right hath *Cesar* to the things which wee think & call ours: one by donation, another by preservation: for if we looke to the first subduing of all countries by the sword, & the first endowing of each place and person by the prince, & the strengthening and setting therof by the law so long as men play, we shall finde, that temporall things in euery kingdome, as they were first receiued from *Cesar*, and haue been continued by *Cesar*, so they are still enioyed vnder *Cesar*, & must, in cases of disobedience, by law, returne to *Cesar*, and when need requireth, by parts be refunded

at the Coronation.

to *Casars* vse. By preservation, not onelie our goods & our lands, but our bodies & liues are *Casars*, though he neuer gaue the, yet because they are kept & garded by his power & care, that they might be ours. Otherwise we shuld enioy them but a while, if euerie man might freely haue his forth, and execute his furie without restraint or feare of reuenge: malice & mischief would so fast multiply. There is therefore a Tribute or due to *Cesar* as well of our labors and liues, as of our goods and lands; all which being preserved by *Casars* sword & scepter, must be employed and expended in *Casars* seruice. Whether therefore Tribute & custome be a seale of our subiecti- on, or a debt of compensation, or a part of restitution, it is plainly Gods ordinance, & a manifest consequent, argument, or mo- nument of our obedience to princes.

Howbeit to lighten the burthen, procure the welfare, and retaine the loue of their subiects, both heathen & Christian prin- ces, that haue ben wise and moderate, haue rather eased, then fleeced their people; & having lands and reuenues sufficient of their own to maintain their Royall estate, haue

A Sermon preached

haue not imposed, nor expected taxes oftner, nor greater then their needfull occasions required. *Tiberius* the Romane Emperour was wont to say, Shepheards doe sheere, not flea their sheep, and princes be shepheards of their people, as God said to *Cyrus*, *thou art my Shepheard.*

Elsey. 44.

Rom. 13.

8.4.

Feare is added by the Apostle, as incident to princes power, not properly, but conditionally, when we doe euill. *Wilt thou be without feare of the power*, saith he, *Doe well, so shalt thou haue praise of the same: but if thou do euill, feare: he is Gods Minister to take vengeance on him that doth euill.* Feare of vengeance is a medicine prouided to preuent sin; Praise is prize appointed to prouoke vertue. The King, as a Father, should cherish the good with fauour and encouragement: as a Lord hee should repressse the bad with feare & punishment. The righteous are the sonnies of God, and worthy to receiue consolation: the wicked are the seruants of sin, & well deserue due correction: both feare & praise haue their vses; the one as a bridle to restraine malefactors, the other as a spur to edge on well doers. Reward of good, & reuenge of euil,

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at the Coronation.

are the sinews of each common-wealth. I may not denie, but mercie on the penitent, wher the men are not wicked, nor the offences hainous, is a most princely vertue, considering mans weaknes & resembling Gods goodnesse: yet in sins that cry to heauen for vengeance, if seueritie be not vsed, gods anger is kindled, & he often spareth neither prince nor people, wher such outrageous sinnes are freely suffered.

The ensigne of all this honour due to princes, is the Crowne, which is giuen the of God: for as the Sword presenteth their power, so doth the Crowne their Glorie, and both from God. The signification of a Crowne *David* sheweth, where he saith to God, *Thou hast crowned him with honor and Glorie*: and the approbation of the Crowne, that princes weare, hee likewise referreth to god in saying, *Thou diddest set a Crowne of pure gold vpon his head*: not meaning, it was Gods act, but his ordinance, that Crownes were set on princes heads. Psal. 21.

There remaineth the end, why all this power and honour is giuen to princes of God, which is the preserving of his heritage. Psal. 135.

A Sermon preached

lage. God hath not lifted them to this height, either to forget him, who aduanceth them; or to neglect those, of whom they haue charges; but to conuert all their authoritie and dignitie to the faithfull discharge of their duty. And this is Gods ordinance no lesse than the former: For god erected no powers against himselfe, but vnder him; neither did he ordaine them for themselves, but for others. Heads are to moderate their bodies, Shepherds to guide their flocks, fathers to nourish their childrē, maisters to restrain their seruants, and so are princes to gouerne their Realmes. In the princes dutie I may be shorter, because I speake before a religious & learned king, who both by pen and practise these many yeeres hath witnessed to the world, how well acquainted he is with christian and godly gouernment: Yet my dutie to God will not suffer me supplying this place, wholly to passe it ouer with silence. I will therefore rather touch, then treat the things pertinent to the princes charge. Wherein are three things necessarie to be remembred: the *Reseruation of Gods rights* from whom all is receiued: the
moderation

at the Coronation.

*moderation of mans life, to which all must
bee referred: the Execution of iust indge-
mēt, by which all must be measured. The
reseruatiō of Gods right, David expref-
seth in these words: Be wise now ye Kings, Psalms.
serue the Lord in feare. Be wise, & serue the
Lord, noteth a restraint, in feare, sheweth
an accompt: Be wise, that is, so raigne in
earth, that ye may raigne in heauen; so liue
heere, that ye may liue for euer. Let not
your power or honour deceiue you, your
kingdome hath limits, & shal haue an end,
onely the kingdome of Christ is ouer all,
and for euer. Serue therefore the Lord. You
are great Lords aboue others, but there is
a far greater aboue you. Your soueraign-
ty ouer men must be a seruice vnder god.
You are not called to doe your owne wils,
but his that exalted you. His law must be
your Iewel, his word your warrant. If you
serue not him, you serue sin, which is an
ignominious and daungerous seruice for
men to haue so many masters, as they haue
vices. Serue the Lord in feare, not distrust-
ing his goodnes, but reuerencing his great-
nes. Life and death are in your hands, hea-
uen & hel are in his. Men haue no power*

A Sermon preached

to iudge you, but the iudgement of God
ineuitable. All shall appeare before him,
Psal. 76. and all accompt to him: *He is terrible to
the kings of the earth,* wher he is neglected
or resisted: *but hee maketh them blessings
for euer,* wher he is regarded and serued.

The moderation of mans life, and keep-
ing vs aswell in godlines & honesty, as in
peace and tranquillitie, is set downe by the
Apostle, as the maine cause, why powers
were ordained, and the Sword authorized
heere on earth. *Let prayers & supplications,*
1 Timi. 2. *saith he, be made for Kings, & for all in au-
thoritie, that we may leade a quiet & peace-
able life in all godlines & honesty:* he meneth
that by their lawes & labors we may en-
ioy these blessings vnder them. To the
Princes charge then belongeth, as well the
care of true Religion, & honest conuer-
sation, as the conseruing of publike and pri-
uate peace, whereby our states & liues are
defended from all hostilitie, miserie, and
iniurie. What benefits redound to vs by
peace and tranquillitie, daily experience
teacheth vs, not onely by freedome from
wars, Inuasions, and spoiles of enemies a-
broad, but also by safety from wrongs, op-
pressions,

at the Coronation.

pressions, and grievances of defrauders & maligners at home; insomuch that where God was neither knowen nor serued, yet so great was the vtilitie and necessitie of the princes sword, that God commanded heathen tyrants and bloody persecutors to be obeyed and honored in regard of their power from him, by which they vpheld ciuill societie and honestie amongst men. And besides the procuring of publike and priuate peace to each place and person, it is no small service, that princes doe vnto God by repressing the vnbrideled lusts of mans corruption, and reuenging the wicked attempts of mans presumption; I mean adulteries, incests, rapes, robberies, perueries, conspiracies, witchcrafts, murders, rebellions, treasons, and such like hainous enormities, which would ouerflow each kingdome and countrie, if the princes sword did not take due reuenge of the doers and committers of such outrages. To these commodities of publike authoritie when godlinesse is ioyned, that vnder christian princes wee may enioy safetie, sobrietie, and pietie; what greater blessings can bee desired in this life, except the in-

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A Sermon preached

ward graces and gifts of gods spirit, which he reserueth to his owne power & choise. So that no subiection, nor seruice of ours to superiour powers can match the good things which we receiue by their gouernment, and therefore no meruaile, if God so sharplie threaten and punish the resisters of his will, wisdome, and prouidence, whereby hee containeth men in their duties, and keepeth the earth from brutish confusion.

So maine and waightie matters per-
taining to princes charge, the care of
Gods truth and Church must be the chief-
fest: for should the bodies, goods, and
credits of men bee preserued, and the ho-
nour and glorie of God bee neglected?
Should earthly ease bee so much in re-
quest, and heauenlie blisse so little in de-
sire? Feare wee the ruine of all things,
where iniuries and violences to men are
not repressed by the princes sword; and
doubt wee no daunger where Idolatrie,
Heresie, Atheisme, and Blasphemie a-
gainst God goe unpunished? Is Gods
hand shortened that hee cannot strike?
Or his will altered that hee will honour
those

at the Coronation.

those that dishonour him, and blesse them that hate him?

It is a Romish error repugnant to the word of God, and to the examples of the best Kings and Monarchs before and since Christ, to reſtraine Princes from proteſting and promoting the true worſhip of God within their Realmes. Neither hath the man of ſinne more groſſelie betrayed his pride and rage in any thing, than in abating the honour and abuſing the power, and impugning the right of Princes; by depoſing them from their ſeates, and tranſlating their Kingdomes to others, by abſolving their ſubiects from all alledgeance, and giuing them leaue to rebell, by ſetting his feete in Emperours neckes, and ſpurning off their crownes with his ſhooe, by making them his Bailiffes and Sergeants to attend and accompliſh his will, and not to meddle with ſupporting the truth, or reforming the Church, but as hee liketh. In all which hee hath ſhewed himſelfe like himſelfe, to yoke, whom God hath freed, and to free, whom God hath yoked, to deieſt, whom God hath exalted, and to

A Sermon preached

erect, whom God hath humbled, to challenge, what God hath reserved, and to crosse, what God hath commaunded. Yet must not Christian Princes for all this neglect their charge to preserve gods heritage.

Their Scepters and thrones, allowed them by God, are proofes that they may and must make lawes, and execute iudgement, as well for godlinesse and honesty, which by the Apostles rule are within the charge and compasse of their commission. As for peace and tranquillitie, from observing this no man may draw them, since for neglecting this no man shall excuse them. They must not be carefull in humane things, and carelessse in Diuine; God ought to be served and honoured by them, that is, by their princely power and care, as much afore men, as his truth and glory excelleth the peace and welfare of men. It wanteth many degrees of a Christian gouernment to looke to the keeping of things, that must perish, and to leaue the soules of men as an open pray to iniquitie and impietie.

at the Coronation.

Of righteous Iudgement, which the Royall throne (wherein Princes sit) being Gods seate, puts them in minde to execute, much might bee saide, did not the time prefixed straighten and hasten mee to an end.

It shall suffice therefore to admonish, that princes themselues, no lesse then other sent and authorized by them, doe execute the Iudgements, not of man, but of the Lord; and in that respect, as the seate is Gods, wherein they sit, so it must bee guided by Gods law, and they must imitate Gods steppes, who sitteth and iudgeth in the middest of them; and with whom is no leuitie, partialitie, nor iniquitie. They must heare indifferentlie, discernie wiselie, and pronounce vprightlie. Their eares must not be open or easie to false and priue accusers. If it be enough to accuse, who shall bee innocent? Their hearts must not bee carried with corrupt affections. If preiudice bee iustice, who shall be acquitted? Their hands must not bee armed, or aggravated with priuate reuenge. If secret mis-

A Sermon preached

like may measure punishment, who can bee safe? By Iustice is the throne established, which neither stoppes the eare, fireth the heart, nor loadeth the hand without, or aboue desert.

To conclude, since it pleased God, not long since, to take from vs to his heauenly rest, a prince, that with great moderation and wisdom swayed the Scepter of this realme fīue and fourtie yeeres, supporting truth and peace amongst vs; maugre all her opposites and enemies. Blessed be God the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, that hath magnified his mercies so much towards vs, as to place in the throne of this land, after her, the rightfull heire of her Crowne, and a King most worthie to succcede her, as nothing inferior to her, in knowledge, prudence, magnanimitie, bountie, mildnes of disposition, zeale of true religion, and resolution to doe Iustice and Equitie: and hath matched him with a most noble Spouse of so rare giftes, graces and vertues, as our most gracions Lady and Queene heere present is: And God graunt, they both may

at the Coronation.

may long sit on their Thrones in all holines & happines of life, to their perpetuall honour, and our continuing comfort; and their Princely Progenie after them, even all the dayes of heaven, if it so please God: to the glory of God the Father, the Sonne, and the holie Ghost, to whom the onely wise, inuisible, and immortall King of all worlds bee all power, and praise, now, and for euer, Amen.

